

TELEGRAM INFORMATION REPORT TELEGRAM

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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(When Filled In)

CLASSIFICATION - DISSEMINATION CONTROLS

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEM~~

~~BUNDY-SMITH~~

~~BELK~~

~~CHASE~~

~~DINGEMAN~~

~~DUNGAN~~

~~FELDMAN~~

~~FORRESTAL~~

~~HIRSCH~~

~~JOHNSON~~

~~KAYSEN~~

~~KILDUFF~~

~~KLEIN~~

~~MEYER~~

~~PROTT~~

~~SATCHEL~~

~~SMITH~~

COUNTRY ITALY

REPORT NO. TDCS -3/554.558

SUBJECT COMMENTS OF PRESIDENT SEGNI ON THE FAILURE OF THE CENTER-LEFT EXPERIMENT

DATE DISTR. 25 JULY 1963

PRECEDENCE ROUTINE

DATE OF INFO. 19 JULY 1963

REFERENCES

EO 12958 3.4(b) (1)
(C)

PLACE & DATE ACQ.

APPRAISAL SEE BELOW.

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION. SOURCE GRADINGS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE.

SOURCE

APPRAISAL:

IT SHOULD BE ASSUMED THAT SEGNI KNEW HIS REMARKS WOULD REACH U.S. OFFICIALS.)

1. ON 19 JULY 1963 PRESIDENT ANTONIO SEGNI STATED THAT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE WITHIN THE PARTITO SOCIALISTA ITALIANO (PSI; ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY) AFTER PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S VISIT TO ITALY HAVE FURTHER COMPLICATED PSI RELATIONS WITH THE DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA (DC; CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY) AND HAVE LESSENED THE POSSIBILITY OF THE PSI'S BREAKING WITH THE PARTITO COMUNISTA

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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ITALIANO (PCI; ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY) AND JOINING THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER. PSI SECRETARY PIETRO NENNI HAS BEEN FORCED TO YIELD TO RICCARDO LOMBARDI. SEGNI SAID THAT HE BELIEVES LOMBARDI IS UNRELIABLE AND IS LIKELY TO LEAD THE PSI TO TAKE NEUTRALIST POSITIONS, THEREBY MAKING IMPOSSIBLE A SINCERE AGREEMENT BY THE PSI WITH THE CENTER PARTIES WHICH STAND FOR THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF ITALY IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT THE DESIRED BREAK WITH THE PCI WILL NEVER TAKE PLACE GIVEN THE PRESENT INTERNAL CONDITIONS OF THE PSI, SAID SEGNI. NENNI WAS THE ONE SOCIALIST LEADER WITH WHOM ONE COULD HOPE TO COME TO SOME SORT OF A USEFUL UNDERSTANDING. EVEN SO, NOT EVEN HE EVER AGREED TO BREAK WITH THE PCI. ON THIS ESSENTIAL POINT, POINTED OUT SEGNI, NENNI NEVER ANSWERED ALDO MORO'S REQUESTS IN THEIR TALKS FOR AN AGREEMENT ON THE FORMATION OF A CENTER-LEFT GOVERNMENT. NOW NENNI HAS LOST ALL HOPES OF CONTROLLING HIS PARTY, AND A COMMITMENT THAT COULD NOT BE OBTAINED FROM HIM WILL CERTAINLY NEVER BE MADE BY RICCARDO LOMBARDI.

2. PRESIDENT SEGNI SAID HE WAS PLEASED TO RECEIVE A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KENNEDY ON THE QUESTION OF A NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH THE SOVIETS. SEGNI ALSO STATED THAT HE WANTS TO EMPHASIZE TO KENNEDY THE SPECIAL PROBLEM FACING COUNTRIES SUCH AS FRANCE AND ITALY WHERE A DANGEROUS INTERNAL AGGRESSION BY MEANS OF LOCAL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS DIRECTED FROM MOSCOW IS UNDER WAY. IN ITALY THE DANGER OF INTERNAL AGGRESSION IS FAR GREATER THAN THAT OF FOREIGN MILITARY ATTACK. SEGNI

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SAID HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE USSR CONTEMPLATES ANY DIRECT ATTACK ON WESTERN EUROPE AT THIS TIME. THE REAL DANGER LIES IN THE PCI AND IN THE HELP THE SOVIETS GIVE THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS WITH DIRECTIVES, PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AND MONEY. SEGNI SAID HE WOULD LIKE KENNEDY TO BEAR THIS ESSENTIAL POINT IN MIND IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, WHO, UNDOUBTEDLY, WILL DENY THAT THEY ACTIVELY INTERFERE IN ITALIAN AFFAIRS. NEVERTHELESS, THIS POINT SHOULD BE PRESSED AND SHOULD BE GIVEN ALL THE IMPORTANCE IT REQUIRES.

3. SEGNI CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT IT IS NOW EVIDENT THAT AMINTORE FANFANI IS THE CANDIDATE OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THAT HE, SEGNI, WOULD DO ALL IN HIS POWER TO PREVENT THE FORMATION OF ANOTHER FANFANI GOVERNMENT THIS FALL. SEGNI SAID THAT THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN NENNI AND FANFANI IS ONE OF THE REASONS FOR HIS HAVING LOST ALL HOPE OF REDEEMING THE PSI. AT THE TIME OF THE RECENT GOVERNMENT CRISIS, SAID SEGNI, NENNI CAME TO HIM PLEADING FOR FANFANI. NENNI DID NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT FANFANI INEVITABLY MEANT THE INCLUSION, NOT THE EXCLUSION, OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE MAJORITY. IF THE SITUATION THIS FALL PROVES TO BE INSOLUBLE, WHICH IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE, THERE MAY WELL BE NEW ELECTIONS. SEGNI SAID HE CONSIDERS THE DAMAGE DONE BY THE 28 APRIL ELECTIONS TO HAVE BEEN SO GREAT THAT THE PENDULUM COULD NOW START TO SWING IN THE OTHER DIRECTION; NEW ELECTIONS ARE UNLIKELY TO ADD TO THE PRESENT CONFUSION. IN ANY CASE, HE SAID, THERE MAY BE NO OTHER WAY.

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4. SEGNI SAID THAT WHILE HE REGRETTED THAT IT HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE SOONER, HE WAS SINCERELY PLEASED BY THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK, PRIMARILY BEAUSE IT GAVE KENNEDY AND RUSK THE OPPORTUNITY TO REALIZE THE INADVISABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES' SUPPORTING THE CENTER-LEFT EXPERIMENT IN ITALY AT THIS TIME. SEGNI SAID HE REFRAINED FROM DISCUSSING FANFANI WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY WHILE THE LATTER WAS IN ROME, BUT IN NAPLES HE FELT HE COULD SPEAK MORE FREELY WITHOUT GIVING KENNEDY THE IMPRESSION THAT HE, SEGNI, HAD PLANNED TO CRITIZE PAST U.S. INTERVENTIONS. (SOURCE COMMENT: SEGNI MADE IT CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WAS EXACTLY WHAT HE HAD PLANNED TO DO, ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT VERY CLEAR AS TO WHAT DISPLEASED HIM.) IN NAPLES SEGNI HINTED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT, IF THE UNITED STATES' PURPOSE IS TO STRENGTHEN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AND TO DENY THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS A DETERMINING ROLE IN ITALY'S AFFAIRS, IT WOULD BE WISE TO REFRAIN FROM DOING ANYTHING THAT MIGHT HELP THE RETURN OF FANFANI.

5. SEGNI SAID HE IS SERIOUSLY WORRIED BY THE GROWING STRENGTH OF THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTIES. THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF) WILL BE KEPT UNDER CONTROL AS LONG AS PRESIDENT CHARLES DE GAULLE IS IN POWER, BUT THE PICTURE APPEARS MENANCING AFTER DE GAULLE LEAVES OFFICE. SEGNI SAID HE BELIEVES THAT ONE OF THE REASONS DE GAULLE IS NOW THINKING ABOUT VISITING MOSCOW

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IS THAT HE IS PLANNING TO ASK THE KREMLIN TO STOP AIDING THE PCF. THE PRINCIPAL REASON FOR HIS CONCERN, SEGNI SAID, IS THAT HE BELIEVES THAT AS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IMPROVE IT BECOMES MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT TO RESIST THE PCI AND TO SAVE ITALY FROM INTERNAL AGGRESSION. UNTIL THE DEATH OF STALIN IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT TO REFUSE PCI MEMBERS VISAS TO THE USSR AND SATELLITE COUNTRIES. THIS IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE, SAID SEGNI, AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEADERS SUCH AS LUIGI LONGO AND GIULIANO AND GIAN CARLO PAJETTA ARE CONSTANTLY AND OPENLY GOING BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, OBVIOUSLY TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

6. SEGNI SAID HE IS ALSO PREOCCUPIED BY THE POSSIBLE EFFECT IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT HAVE ON ITALIAN SECURITY. SEGNI FEARS THAT SINCE PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV HAS MADE HIS PEACE WITH MARSHAL TITO, YUGOSLAVIA MIGHT CONCEDE FREE TRANSIT TO SOVIET AGENTS ON THEIR WAY TO OR FROM ITALY. HE FEARS THAT THE SITUATION ON THE ITALIAN-YUGOSLAV BORDER MIGHT REVERT TO WHAT IT WAS BEFORE THE BREAK BETWEEN BELGRADE AND MOSCOW.

7. SEGNI SAID HE IS GREATLY IMPRESSED BY THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THIS COUNTRY. HE SAID THAT WHILE THE DC IS DISORGANIZED AND PARALYZED BY INTERNAL STRIFE, THE PCI IS CONDUCTING A WELL-PLANNED, LARGE-SCALE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ITALIAN INSTITUTIONS AND THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION ON WHICH THEY ARE

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BASED. THIS CAMPAIGN IS HANDLED BY WELL-TRAINED AND VERY COMPETENT PROFESSIONALS WHO ARE ENDOWED BY THE SOVIETS WITH ALL THE MONEY AND OTHER HELP THEY NEED. AS AN EXAMPLE OF THEIR ABILITY IN THE CULTURAL FIELD, SEGNI SAID HE HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE TRANSLATED INTO RUSSIAN MANY ITALIAN BOOKS BY AUTHORS WHOM THE PCI WISHES TO CULTIVATE. THE AUTHORS ARE NOT TOLD THAT USUALLY ONLY SEVERAL HUNDRED COPIES OF THESE TRANSLATIONS ARE PRINTED IN MOSCOW, BUT THEY ARE PAID SUBSTANTIAL SUMS IN AUTHOR'S RIGHTS TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEIR BOOKS SOLD WELL IN THE USSR.

EO 12958 3.4(b)(1)>25Yrs
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8. () COMMENT: ()

() SEGNI HAS ALWAYS HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE CENTER LEFT. HIS STRONG OPINIONS ABOUT THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE PSI ARE A REFLECTION OF HIS RESERVATIONS. NENNI HAS CERTAINLY NOT LOST HOPE OF CONTROLLING HIS PARTY. THE FINAL AGREEMENT, CONCLUDED 19 JULY BETWEEN THE PRO-NENNI AND PRO-LOMBARDI GROUPS MENDING THE SPLIT THAT OCCURRED ON 16-17 JUNE BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS OVER DIFFERENCES IN THE EVALUATION OF MORO'S PROGRAM, HAS NOT AS YET BEEN PUBLISHED. CERTAIN DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT AS RECEIVED FROM SOURCES, HOWEVER, DO NOT INDICATE THAT NENNI HAS YIELDED TO LOMBARDI. THE PSI AUTONOMISTS, IT IS TRUE, HAVE NOT MADE THE MOVES AWAY FROM THE PCI WHICH SEGNI AND THE DOROTEI WOULD HAVE WANTED THEM TO MAKE; MOVES SUCH AS A COMPLETE BREAK WITH THE PCI IN THE CGIL, IN THE COOPERATIVES AND AT LOCAL

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ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS. THIS SITUATION, WHICH SEGNI AND THE DOROTEI WERE WILLING TO ACCEPT DURING THE FANFANI CENTER-LEFT GOVERNMENT, PREVAILED BEFORE THE SPLIT AND REALIGNMENT OF THE AUTONOMISTS. ACCORDING TO PAOLO VITORELLI AND GIOVANNI PIERACCINI, DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, WILL REMOVE THE OBLIGATION FOR THE PSI TO FORM LOCAL GOVERNMENTS EVEN IF THEY HAVE A MAJORITY, WILL ACCEPT ITALY'S ATLANTIC ALLIANCE COMMITMENTS AND WILL ALSO NOTE THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO ENTER A CENTER-LEFT GOVERNMENT EXCLUDING THE RIGHT WING PARTIES AND THE PCI. INHERENT IN THE SOCIALIST (MARXIAN) IDEOLOGY, BE THEY AUTONOMISTS (NENNIANI OR LOMBARDIANI) OF CARRISTI, IS A DISTRUST OF THEIR PROPOSED DIALOGUE WITH THE DC (CATHOLICISM) AND THE POSSIBLE LOSS OF THEIR WORKING-CLASS BASE IF THEY MAKE THIS MOVE TOO SUDDENLY. SEGNI'S RESERVATION CONCERNING LOMBARDI MAY BE A REFLECTION OF WHAT COULD OCCUR IF NENNI DID LOSE CONTROL OF THE AUTONOMISTS TO LOMBARDI AT THE PSI CONGRESS IN OCTOBER, BUT SEGNI APPEARS SOMEWHAT PREMATURE IN MAKING THIS ASSESSMENT NOW. LOMBARDI CAN COUNT ON ONLY ABOUT SEVEN OR EIGHT OUT OF 45 AUTONOMIST MEMBERS IN THE PSI CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOWEVER, AND THE PROPORTION OF FORCES IN THE FEDERATIONS APPEARS TO BE THE SAME. IN THE KEY FEDERATIONS OF MILAN AND ROME, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NENNI FORCES WITHIN THE AUTONOMIST FACTION PREDOMINATED IN A RECENT SHOW OF STRENGTH. ALSO, IN A RECENT MEETING OF THE PSI PROVINCIAL DIRECTORATE IN FLORENCE, 18 OF THE 26 MEMBERS OF THE AUTONOMIST FACTION VOTED FOR A

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PRO-NENNI MOTION AS AGAINST 8 FOR A PRO-LOMBARDI MOTION.

ALL THIS WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT NENNI'S FORCES ARE BY FAR MUCH LARGER THAN THE PRO-LOMBARDI FOLLOWERS. WHILE WE ARE INCLINED TO AGREE WITH PRESIDENT SEGNI THAT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM MOSCOW ACCOUNTS FOR A GOOD DEAL OF THE SUCCESS OF THE PCI, WE BELIEVE THAT ITS REAL SOURCE OF STRENGTH DERIVES FROM THE FACT THAT IT HAS A SUBSTANTIAL INTERNAL INCOME FROM ITS OWN DOMESTIC ECONOMIC CONCERNS, INCLUDING A LARGE NUMBER OF PROFITABLE COOPERATIVES AND IMPORT-EXPORT ESTABLISHMENTS. NO ITALIAN GOVERNMENT SINCE 1948 HAS MADE A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO EXPOSE THE PCI'S STRANGLEHOLD ON MUCH OF THE TRADE ITALY DOES WITH THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC. THERE ARE LAWS IN EXISTENCE WHICH, IF PROPERLY APPLIED, COULD DEPRIVE THE PCI OF A GOOD DEAL OF INCOME. BUT SEGNI, AS IS THE CASE WITH ALL OTHER ITALIAN POLITICAL LEADERS, DOES NOT HAVE THE COURAGE AND THE ABILITY TO TACKLE THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM INTERNALLY, HENCE THE APPEAL THAT WE INTERCEDE WITH MOSCOW FOR THEM, A PROCEDURE WHICH SEGNI KNOWS WILL NOT REALLY AFFECT THE STRENGTH OF THE PCI.)

9. FIELD DISSEM: STATE (CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AND POLITICAL COUNSELOR ONLY).

END OF MESSAGE

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